

HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963—AMENDMENTS AND CORRECTION OF PRINTING OF AMENDMENT (AMENDMENTS NOS. 215 AND 218)

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, on yesterday I stated I proposed to offer certain amendments to the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, H.R. 6143, when it is considered by the Senate. The amendments have two purposes. The first and primary purpose of the amendments is to eliminate from eligibility for grants or loans under the bill those institutions of higher learning which are in substance owned, controlled, or operated by religious denominations. The second purpose is to make it certain that any taxpayer suing in behalf of himself and all other taxpayers shall be able to obtain a decision as to the constitutionality of any grant or loan which the Commissioner of Education may propose to make.

Unfortunately, in the printing of one of the amendments which I presented on yesterday there was inadvertently omitted the word "not" on line 2, where the word "not" should have been inserted between the word "is" and the word "owned".

In order to obviate this mistake, I ask unanimous consent that I may be permitted to present again this particular amendment, designated as amendment No. 215 to H.R. 6143, and ask unanimous consent that it be reprinted in the RECORD at this point in its correct form and that it also be reprinted in its correct form and allowed to lie on the desk.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The amendment (No. 215) was ordered to be reprinted, reprinted in the RECORD, and to lie on the table, as follows:

On page 68, line 10, insert the following between the word "institution" and the semicolon: "which is not owned, controlled, or operated by a religious denomination, or which has no sectarian religious requirements applicable to its students, to its teachers, or to the members of its controlling board or trustees".

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, in addition, I ask unanimous consent that I may submit a third amendment and have such third proposed amendment printed at this point in the RECORD and also printed for the purpose of lying on the desk until the bill is considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The amendment will be received, printed, and lie on the desk; and, without objection, the amendment will be printed in the RECORD.

The amendment (No. 218) was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, is as follows:

On page 69, line 12, insert the following additional sentence after the word "individual": "The term 'nonprofit institution', as used in subsection (a) (4) of sec. 301, does not include any educational institution which is owned, controlled, or operated by a religious denomination, or which has any sectarian religious requirements applicable to its students, to its teachers, or to the members of its controlling board or trustees."

HIGHER EDUCATION FACILITIES ACT OF 1963—AMENDMENTS (AMENDMENT NO. 219)

Mr. PROUTY submitted amendments, intended to be proposed by him, to the bill (H.R. 6143) to authorize assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing the construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of needed academic and related facilities in undergraduate and graduate institutions, which were ordered to lie on the table and to be printed.

FLYING OF AMERICAN FLAG OVER U.S. SHIP "UTAH"—ADDITIONAL COSPONSOR OF BILL

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the name of the junior Senator from North Dakota [Mr. BURDICK] appear as a cosponsor of the bill (S. 703) to provide for the flying of the American flag over the remains of the U.S.S. *Utah* in honor of the heroic men who were entombed in her hull on December 7, 1941, the next time the bill is printed.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

PREVENTION OF ACCIDENTS IN COAL MINES—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Mr. MOSS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the names of the Senator from Illinois [Mr. DOUGLAS], the Senator from West Virginia [Mr. BYRD], and the Senator from Indiana [Mr. BAYH] appear as cosponsors of the bill (S. 2203), to amend the Federal Coal Mine Safety Act so as to provide further for the prevention of accidents in coal mines, at any future printing of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

ESTABLISHMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE ON SALE OF SURPLUS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE TO COMMUNIST COUNTRIES—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF RESOLUTION

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent that my name be added to S. Res. 211, which relates to the wheat investigation.

I also ask unanimous consent that any other Senator who wishes to have his name added may do so at the next printing of the bill.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. JORDAN of Idaho. Mr. President, I also ask unanimous consent that my name may be added as an additional cosponsor of Senate Resolution 211 at its next printing.

The VICE PRESIDENT. Without objection, it is so ordered.

AMENDMENT OF TARIFF ACT OF 1930, RELATING TO PAYMENT OF OVERTIME TO CUSTOMS OFFICERS AND EMPLOYEES—ADDITIONAL COSPONSORS OF BILL

Under authority of the orders of the Senate of September 24, and October 1, 1963, the names of Mr. BARTLETT, Mr. BENNETT, Mr. BOGGS, Mr. CLARK, Mr. DODD, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. HUMPHREY, Mr. LONG of Missouri, Mr. McGEE, Mr. MCINTYRE, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MOSS, Mr. SCOTT, Mr. TALMADGE, Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota, and Mr. YOUNG of Ohio were added as additional cosponsors of the bill (S. 2173) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 and the act of February 13, 1911, to eliminate those provisions which require payment to the United States for overtime services of customs officers and employees, introduced by Mr. DOMINICK on September 24, 1963.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

Address by Senator JENNINGS RANDOLPH delivered at dedication of Centennial Roadside Park in Tucker County, W. Va., on October 6, 1963.

By Mr. SCOTT:

Address by Mayor Theodore R. McKeldin, of Baltimore, Md., delivered at the Masonic Temple at Philadelphia, Pa., on September 25, 1963; and list of lodge officers in attendance.

Editorial on the need for minority staffing, published in the August 1963 issue of Koppers News.

By Mr. MUNDT:

Article entitled "A Specter Haunts the Kremlin," written by Eugene Lyons and published in the Reader's Digest of September 1963.

Column entitled "The War Can Be Won," written by Joseph Alsop.

THE SITUATION IN SOUTH VIETNAM

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, one of America's finest newspapers, has an excellent Washington bureau, staffed by good correspondents. One of these correspondents is Richard Dudman, who recently wrote an article entitled "Move in Senate To End U.S. Aid Believed Useful to Kennedy as Lever Against Vietnam Regime." The article was published in the October 2 issue. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOVE IN SENATE TO END U.S. AID BELIEVED USEFUL TO KENNEDY AS LEVER AGAINST VIETNAM REGIME—McNAMARA MISSION CITED AS EVIDENCE OF CONTINUING POLICY OF "SINK OR SWIM WITH NGO DINH DIEM"

(By Richard Dudman)

WASHINGTON, October 2.—Senator FRANK CHURCH's proposed resolution calling for a cutoff of U.S. aid to South Vietnam is considered a mounting threat to the government of President Ngo Dinh Diem.

The Idaho Democrat visited Vietnam last December. He says he heard the same claims of military victory, but saw the same evidences of political defeat, that he had witnessed in China as a military intelligence officer when the mainland regime of Chiang Kai-shek was about to collapse.

After the Vietnamese special forces and secret police raided the Buddhist pagodas and arrested thousands of monks and students August 21, CHURCH introduced his resolution.

It says: "Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that unless the Government of South Vietnam abandons policies of repression against its own people and makes a determined and effective effort to regain their support, military and economic assistance to that Government should not be continued."

This was CHURCH's counter to the policy of sink or swim with Ngo Dinh Diem, which the Kennedy administration had adopted but was reappraising in the light of the government's dispute with the Buddhists.

"It is urged upon us that the Communist presence in South Vietnam requires us to support the Diem regime regardless of how repugnant it becomes and irrespective of its contemptuous refusal to respond to our entreaties," CHURCH said.

"To accept such an argument is to concede that the great American Republic is no longer the master of her own course in South Vietnam, but has become the servant of the Mandarin autocracy which governs there."

Since CHURCH introduced the resolution September 12, with 23 cosponsors, others have joined the group until it now stands at 33—almost one-third of the Senate.

The latest to sign as cosponsors are Senators HARRY F. BYRD, Democrat, of Virginia, ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, Democrat, of Connecticut, and JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, Republican, of Kentucky.

When he introduced the resolution, CHURCH asked that it be held only a week for additional sponsors. He asked for prompt Senate action after that.

President John F. Kennedy has said publicly he is against cutting off aid at this time. Privately, the administration is understood to have welcomed the move as a lever to use to persuade Diem to make changes. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge is understood to have cited the resolution to Diem as a clear indication that the United States is not prepared to support him no matter what.

Now, instead of seeking early floor action, CHURCH is prepared to have the resolution remain pending. He would seek a vote only if the President gave his personal approval, because few Democrats would vote for it if they thought Mr. Kennedy opposed it.

The belief is crystallizing that the President, after a period of doubt, has decided that this country's policy shall remain sink or swim with Ngo Dinh Diem.

Some read that interpretation into his decision to send Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara to Vietnam to appraise the situation. The Department of Defense has held to the view that the war is gradually being won and that it would be a mistake to forsake Diem, regardless of his shortcomings. These persons say that McNamara could not be expected to return from his week's tour of inspection with any other answer.

If Mr. Kennedy had leaned toward the view—apparently held by most American

civilians in Vietnam—that Diem and his brother, Ngo Dinh Nhu, are so unpopular that the situation is headed toward disastrous political defeat, then he would have sent someone like Under Secretary of State W. Averell Harriman instead of McNamara. It is argued.

Whether this interpretation is correct, the resolution remains a solid reminder that U.S. patience is not inexhaustible.

The roll of signers may serve also as a barometer of Madam Ngo Dinh Nhu's success in her forthcoming 3-week speaking tour of the United States.

If she can put over the line that President Kennedy has been misinformed and that only a treasonous conspiracy is critical of her family's anti-Communist government, it is said, then the list of signers may shorten as Senators remove their names.

If, on the other hand, she continues her talk about "crazy American ideas of democracy," Buddhist priests barbecuing themselves, and young American officers as little soldiers of fortune, the list could grow rapidly.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, the world was once again shocked by the events which transpired in South Vietnam last weekend. On Saturday, yet another Buddhist monk committed suicide, in protest against the Diem government. At that dreadful scene of self-immolation, three American newsmen, legitimately concerned with the event, were cruelly beaten by the Vietnamese police.

Mr. President, it is bad enough when the Diem government puts severe restrictions on our newsmen; it is inexcusable when our newsmen are beaten and abused in their legitimate attempts to do their jobs. We should demand apologies from the Diem regime, punishment for the police responsible, compensation for the newsmen, and ironclad assurances that such beatings will not occur again.

In the issue of October 6, the New York Times published an excellent editorial, entitled "Violence in Saigon." I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

VIOLENCE IN SAIGON

Almost immediately after Secretary McNamara left South Vietnam with an optimistic report on the war against the Communists, the continued conflict between President Diem's regime and the Buddhists and other opposition elements has exploded into new turmoil. Another Buddhist monk, the sixth since June, had burned himself to death to protest the regime's repressive policies and new student demonstrations have erupted to the same purpose.

The police of President Diem's brother Nhu who sacked the Buddhist pagodas, are now turning to violence against American press correspondents. Three who had witnessed the monk's suicide were beaten by plainclothesmen and one had to be hospitalized. Among the three was our own correspondent, David Halberstam, whose resourcefulness and courage in reporting the facts about both the war and the internal situation in Vietnam have made him the target of special criticism by the Nhuses. Correspondents report events, they do not make them. In that job they are entitled to adequate facilities and above all to personal safety. And the American people are entitled to the facts about a war in which American blood and money is being spent.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, one of the newsmen beaten was David Halberstam, the energetic Times correspondent for South Vietnam. Mr. Halberstam and John Sharkey, of the NBC, were attacked when trying to protect Grant Wolfkill, also of the NBC, who had just taken pictures of the burning monk.

Mr. Halberstam has done first-rate work in his reporting for the Times from South Vietnam, despite the onerous restrictions placed upon newsmen there. Recently, James Reston, Washington bureau chief of the New York Times, called Halberstam's reporting brilliant—truly unusual praise when printed in the columns of the Times. Halberstam had previously distinguished himself as a reporter for the Nashville Tennessean and as Times correspondent in the Congo. He has been Times correspondent in Saigon for more than a year, and has been one of the three full-time American correspondents stationed in that country.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD his latest commentary—an article entitled "Saigon: Failure To Solve Political Problems May Erode Will of People To Press War," which was published in the October 6 issue of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE CRISIS OVER VIETNAM AS VIEWED IN SAIGON—FAILURE TO SOLVE POLITICAL PROBLEMS MAY ERODE WILL OF PEOPLE TO PRESS WAR

(By David Halberstam)

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, October 5.—There was, in the midst of the whirlwind McNamara-Taylor visit here, a moment of restlessness when the Secretary of Defense and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were late and reporters waited at a tiny boondock airstrip for their arrival. An American officer was there and he was talking with the reporters about how tough it was in his area, a real see-saw battle where the Vietcong seemed to be increasingly formidable.

Just the other day, he noted 80 Vietnamese youths deserted from a hamlet.

Why was that? asked the reporters.

Well, the officer said, the youths in this area weren't very happy.

Why? said the reporters.

Well, because on palace orders, much of the effort and many of the troops in the area were going into the building of four land development centers. But only Catholics are permitted in centers and most of the people in the area are Buddhist, he said.

NOT MENTIONED

The anecdote, as Arthur Sylvester noted later, did not come up at the main VIP briefing.

South Vietnam is like this, a complex country where there is usually on the surface no sign of political trouble at all. Even the war is nominally a war against the Communist insurgents. Yet it is also Vietnamese against Vietnamese, a highly political war in which the problem is certainly not lack of Government force or air might, certainly not lack of Government loud-speakers.

Robert S. McNamara and Gen. Maxwell D. Taylor are gone now, and the prediction for victory is 1965.

Despite the optimistic date for the American departure from this country, the V.I.P. visit is regarded here as having been somewhat of a victory for Ambassador Lodge. For it is believed here that Mr. Lodge impressed deeply on Secretary McNamara the extreme

1963

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

18083

seriousness of the political situation the fact that political and military aspects could not be separated, and that even the military outlook was not overly bright.

RISKS KNOWN

From now on, according to sources here, Washington knows full well what it is walking into and what risks it is taking. It knows just how tough the political-military situation is and that the political part is omnipresent.

There was one moment in the briefings by Mr. Sylvester, a moment of great importance in discussing this war. It came in the first 2 days when Mr. Sylvester was most optimistic and had just said that all indices were favorable.

If that were so, asked a reporter, perhaps there was an explanation for one baffling statistic—that each year the Government wiped out about half the hard-core Vietcong estimated to exist at the beginning of that year, only to find at the end of the year there were more Vietcong than ever before?

Mr. Sylvester said he did not know the answer, but at any rate it was a good question.

It is a good question, one that has eluded many American senior advisers here now, just as in considerably different days it eluded the French. It is one reason that this war grinds on and why even the finest helicopters and finest advisers and finest rifles have their limitations. For to some degree, probably a large degree, this remains a fight for men's minds as well, a subtle Asian game in which the enemy is practiced and cunning.

ONE VIEW

There is, of course, one way to look at Vietnam, and that is that the enemy is the Communists and therefore, the idea is to kill Communists; Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu are anti-Communists and their troops are fighting the Communists. All this is true, but it is not the way the Vietnamese look at it. Nor do the Vietnamese, even anti-Communist ones, feel that the war is going well.

Rather, and this is coming from sophisticated anti-Communists who are actively engaged in this war, there is now a fear that this can turn into an ugly meat-grinder war, where one side's military superiority is matched against the other side's political superiority. South Vietnam's Vietcong do not call themselves Communist; they are only the critics of the Government's mistakes, albeit mistreatment of Buddhists or a greedy local official.

The sophisticated anti-Communist Vietnamese now fear that the Americans may be setting the stage for a frustrating, elusive type of war where more American prestige is involved than American control.

Just how much the political affects the war is difficult to tell. It is not a country where entire regiments throw down their weapons, as long as they are paid and are not harassed unnecessarily. Nor is it a country where the Vietnamese are likely to turn to Americans and note that they will not take risks because they are Buddhists and do not love the Government. Sometimes Vietnam seems to be more a country of impressions than of facts as Westerners know facts.

ICY REMINDERS

Yet in evaluating the political impact on the military, here are some icy reminders:

1. As a general rule, the longer a person stays in Vietnam the more he becomes convinced that the political aspect is very real and very important, that there is a direct relationship between the way the Ngo family government operates and some very basic problems in this war. This is not simply exposure to an admittedly unhealthy and neurotic political atmosphere in Saigon, but in fact a product of regular visits to the countryside and a tracing back of problems there to political origins.

2. The more a man stays here, the more he is apt to become concerned with what he considers the basic problem of the Government's reaction to its challenges, and come to feel that the flexibility and responsiveness needed for complex and cruel challenge are simply missing, as is perhaps an ability to place the best possible personnel in the most difficult situations.

There is considerable pride at stake here, and, be it removal of the small outposts in the Mekong Delta, which actually serve the Vietcong as weapon supply points—or admission of responsibility for the incident in Hue last May that started the Buddhist crisis, there is, in the view of many observers, a desperate absence of some of the qualities needed to win. There is around the palace today a vast cocoon of intrigue, suspicion, distrust, separating the family from what it needs to be told and the people who are willing to tell it.

TWO ASPECTS

There are in a war like this two aspects of the political situation which are important. First is the popularity of the Government itself. In this situation, the Government is considered extremely isolated and has created a situation where its main and perhaps only remaining claim to power is through police-state methods. This is certainly true of governments throughout the world, particularly in underdeveloped areas, but most such governments are not faced with a situation where, because of the nature of the war, police techniques may be something of a handicap.

There has been relatively little tangible evidence of any effect of the Buddhist crisis. Yet knowledgeable Vietnamese say effect cannot be underestimated, that it has already affected the morale of officers and civil servants.

SERIOUS SITUATION

They are reporting, and so are some American intelligence and political officers, that the feeling in the countryside is extremely serious, that the people are more susceptible than ever to Vietcong propaganda. According to these sources, it is already affecting the civil servants and it is becoming harder to get civil servants to go out in the field. Similarly, Vietnamese are warning that there is a subtle change in feeling among young officers and less willingness to take risks.

These Vietnamese are warning that, if Americans are aware of the Government's shortcomings and police methods, then the Vietnamese themselves are even more aware of these shortcomings. The Vietnamese are warning not to underestimate the rural political consciousness, even though for Westerners there may be few evident signs of it.

VOICE OF AMERICA

There are people in the villages with radios—often given by the United States and agencies—and the peasants listen to the Voice of America and hear reports of the Buddhist and political crises. They also hear about the crises from the Buddhists, themselves, and from the Vietcong, who make propaganda from Saigon's troubles.

A second aspect of the political problems of this country is the way the Government itself reacts: The way it names commanders in vital sections for political reasons; the way it stamps its own tactical doctrines on these commanders, inhibiting enterprise, creating in them a fear of taking risks and of casualties in the field. The way it starts programs in one area only to change its mind midway and shift resources to another area.

HEAVY FIGHTING

It is a blunt fact of this war that most of the fighting is now in the Mekong Delta region, where the Vietcong are becoming increasingly aggressive and well armed. Similarly, it is a blunt fact that the Govern-

ment's commander of the delta is a man generally looked down on by his Vietnamese military contemporaries as a political officer sensitive to the palace winds and militarily cautious. It is also a blunt fact that, in the past, American leverage in a situation of this sort has been minimal, either in changing commanders or changing tactics.

It is also a fact that, while some of the political problems of Saigon do not reach to countryside, a government such as this does not necessarily create 42 provincial chiefs all with an instinct for the needs of the people. There are provincial chiefs who have that instinct, and in these instances the military and political program often goes well. But too often these men are the exception, and too many of the provincial chiefs have their jobs chiefly because they are loyal and only secondly under a merit system.

MRS. NHU'S FATHER SAYS AID CUT COULD INFLUENCE SAIGON'S POLICY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Tran Van Chuong, the former Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States, has the respect of the citizens of this country for his courage in resigning his position, to protest the autocratic practices of the Diem government. This decision was made much more difficult by the fact that, in resigning, Mr. Chuong was severing family connections, since he is the father of Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu. Mrs. Chuong, Mrs. Nhu's mother, also resigned her position as South Vietnamese observer at the United Nations, at the same time.

Although it must be painful for Mr. Chuong to speak, the citizens of the United States owe him a debt of gratitude for presenting his analysis of events in South Vietnam. Mrs. Nhu will receive extensive opportunity to present the viewpoint of the Diem-Nhu government, during her visit to the United States. It is good that a man as knowledgeable about Vietnamese affairs as Mr. Chuong is willing to speak out in order to give perspective to Mrs. Nhu's comments. On October 8, at the Harvard Club of New York, Mr. Chuong called for a selective cut in American aid to South Vietnam, saying that this pressure might "make even the present Government better." I ask unanimous consent to have a news article reporting on Mr. Chuong's speech, from the October 9 issue of the New York Times, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 9, 1963]
MRS. NHU'S FATHER SAYS AID CUT COULD INFLUENCE SAIGON'S POLICY

South Vietnam's former Ambassador to the United States, who is also the father of Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, called yesterday for a "selective" cut in American foreign aid to his country.

Tran Van Chuong said that threats to end all such aid would not be taken seriously in South Vietnam "because of the effect such an action would have on the war effort" against the Communist Vietcong guerrillas.

But a selective cut, he said, might apply enough pressure to "make even the present Government better." He did not detail the cuts that should be made.

The former envoy spoke at a luncheon at the Harvard Club given by the American

18084

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

October 9

Friends of Vietnam. About 50 persons attended.

Tran Van Chuong resigned August 22 because of Saigon's harsh policy toward Buddhists and other dissenters against official policy. His wife resigned as the South Vietnamese observer at the United Nations. He said neither of them would see their daughter during her stay in the United States. They may, however, visit their 17-year-old granddaughter, Le Thuy.

Tran Van Chuong compared the present Government in Saigon with a physician who says "the patient has a heart attack, a tumor on the brain and very dark spots on the lungs, but his feet and arms work well."

President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam is a "devoted Roman Catholic with the mind of a medieval inquisitor," he said, and added that there was "no possibility of ever winning the war under the present regime."

SALE OF WHEAT TO RUSSIA

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, according to the morning newspapers, it seems fairly apparent that the Russians have asked us for several millions of tons of American wheat. It also seems obvious that the Kennedy administration is about to accede to this request, regardless of what effect that might have on bailing our cold war enemy out of a jam on its homefront.

I should like to say that I believe it is entirely possible for the United States to benefit from the proposed sale of millions of tons of wheat to the Soviet Union—provided the price is right.

The price I speak of, Mr. President, goes beyond the dollars and cents consideration, even though it is very important to the hard-pressed American taxpayer. No, I am speaking of a price which could weigh on the side of freedom. I am speaking of a price which could go to the heart of the problem of world tensions, about which we have heard so much recent discussion. It goes to the need for positive, demonstrable action by the Soviet Union to prove its good faith in these current and rapidly moving arrangements between East and West.

I believe that Russia should initially be made to pay the full U.S. price for the wheat, so that our taxpayers who have subsidized the wheat at upwards of 50 cents a bushel do not have to pick up a part of the Khrushchev tab.

But far more important, Mr. President, I believe Mr. Khrushchev should be made to remove immediately—not next year, at a political time, but immediately—his Soviet troops and military equipment from the island of Cuba. I suggest this is the least price we should charge for helping out Mr. Khrushchev in his hour of need.

TRIP BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO BILLINGS AND GREAT FALLS, MONT.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, several weeks ago, during the trip by the President of the United States to the Northwest, we in Montana were honored to have him stop at both Billings and Great Falls. The people of Montana as a whole, regardless of political affiliation, were highly pleased to see the President of the United States. During the course of his speech at the fair-

grounds in Billings, Mont., the President paraphrased Thoreau, by saying, "I walk toward Montana." We appreciate very much his sentiments, his speeches, and his presence.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record various editorials and articles which were published in Montana newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Billings Gazette, Sept. 26, 1963]

A WARM WELCOME FOR THE PRESIDENT

It was a gala occasion at the fairgrounds yesterday when Billings welcomed a smiling and personable President Kennedy who 3 years ago called on us in a bid for our votes.

The trip this time was billed as nonpolitical, a not unusual label for presidential tours, but regardless of purpose, it was gratifying to have him with us and hear what he said about developing the natural resources of the West.

Federal policy on resource development is vital to a State like Montana with 37 percent of its land controlled by the Federal Government. Timber, mineral and recreation resources on the public domain provide jobs for thousands of Montanans in the mining, lumbering, oil and tourist industries and account for much of our annual income.

Thus it was encouraging to hear and read President Kennedy's statement that the Nation's natural resources program needs some of the national effort and purpose put into the development of the atomic bomb.

It was pleasing, no doubt, to the President, to receive such a warm welcome upon his arrival in Billings. The occasion brought Democratic dignitaries here from throughout Montana as well as Wyoming, and should be an inspiration for party workers.

[From the Great Falls Tribune, Sept. 26, 1963]

LAND OF SHINING MOUNTAINS BIDS THE PRESIDENT WELCOME

We are happy to join in the enthusiastic welcome that all Montana is extending to the President of the United States. We are appreciative of his inclusion of Great Falls on his speaking schedule. We regret only that the pressure of his responsibilities does not permit him to stay longer. Many have found surcease from stresses among the mountains, streams, and forests of our Treasure State's recreation wonderland.

It is particularly fitting that President Kennedy should have started his conservation tour by stopping in Pennsylvania to dedicate the ancestral home of Gifford Pinchot to the further service of conservation. Pinchot, first Chief of the Forest Service, and advisor to President Theodore Roosevelt, was America's foremost conservationist.

Pinchot once said: "A nation deprived of liberty may win it, a nation divided may reunite, but a nation whose natural resources are destroyed must inevitably pay the penalty of poverty, degradation and decay."

It is also fitting that the President should have included Montana in his conservation tour. Montanans have, since our early pioneers cleared the frontier, always thought and acted to conserve our valued land and water riches. Hence, we can readily appreciate the development of the New Frontier in conservation, reclamation, and recreation which President Kennedy so vigorously espouses.

So the President's plea to preserve our national heritage will find sympathetic hearers. And seeing at firsthand how much our Land of the Shining Mountains has to offer should give him an increased awareness of Montana's important role in his program.

[From the Montana Standard-Post, Sept. 29, 1963]

PRESIDENT'S VISION—MONTANANS ENJOY SHARING IT

When President John F. Kennedy said in Great Falls that he would like to make the Northwest of which Montana is a part "a garden to attract people from all over the United States and the world," he was not thinking of a rose garden.

What he had in mind appears in other parts of his Great Falls speech—something more on the order of a vegetable garden, which combines beauty to delight the eye with productivity to satisfy more material appetites.

The President spoke of harnessing rivers, reclaiming and irrigating land; of a "partnership" in which farmers and Government "will improve this rich land through science."

He related Northwest development with the kind of world which would result from easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, a world of continuing competition "in the fields of productivity, education, economic growth, culture, and happiness."

We have had Presidents who did not seem to know exactly where Montana is, what it contains, what could be done with it and for it. This one—and we have to believe his information stems in large part from members of our congressional delegation who obviously have his ear—came to our State with realization of its size, its resources, and its potentialities.

From that knowledge the President projects a vision which Montanans enjoy sharing with him.

To materialize that vision remains primarily the task of Montanans themselves. In one area of that task, the President offers a "partnership," a proper offer from the Chief Executive of the Nation of which Montana is a part.

But those who have planned and created gardens know well enough that the indispensable ingredient in productivity is good, hard digging.

The gardener may or may not have a rich uncle who wishes him well and admires his work and would like to contribute something, but the hands of the rich uncle seldom fit the handle of the spade, the rake, and the hoe.

In the last analysis, the President leaves with us not the prospect of what he can do for us, but the vision which he shares with us of what we could do for ourselves, perhaps with some help given freely or at a fair price.

[From the Helena Independent Record, Sept. 25, 1963]

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Montana is honored by having as its distinguished guest today the President of the United States.

We think that citizens of all political beliefs are putting aside their differences to give President Kennedy a real western greeting.

The visit of a President is not a common occurrence and the Treasure State should go all out to show that we are glad that Mr. Kennedy is here and we hope that he comes again.

The fact that we are off the beaten path is what makes the visit so rare. In these days of air transport the small communities see less and less of the great and near great personalities of the day.

Time was when the President traveled by train and he couldn't get across this vast domain without having to make a number of stops. That was why the ordinary citizen out here in the sticks probably saw more of the Roosevelts, Wilson, Coolidge, Hoover, and the other Presidents of the last generation

1963

seriousness of the political situation the fact that political and military aspects could not be separated, and that even the military outlook was not overly bright.

RISKS KNOWN

From now on, according to sources here, Washington knows full well what it is walking into and what risks it is taking. It knows just how tough the political-military situation is and that the political part is omnipresent.

There was one moment in the briefings by Mr. Sylvester, a moment of great importance in discussing this war. It came in the first 2 days when Mr. Sylvester was most optimistic and had just said that all indices were favorable.

If that were so, asked a reporter, perhaps there was an explanation for one baffling statistic—that each year the Government wiped out about half the hard-core Vietcong estimated to exist at the beginning of that year, only to find at the end of the year there were more Vietcong than ever before?

Mr. Sylvester said he did not know the answer, but at any rate it was a good question.

It is a good question, one that has eluded many American senior advisers here now, just as in considerably different days it eluded the French. It is one reason that this war grinds on and why even the finest helicopters and finest advisers and finest rifles have their limitations. For to some degree, probably a large degree, this remains a fight for men's minds as well, a subtle Asian game in which the enemy is practiced and cunning.

ONE VIEW

There is, of course, one way to look at Vietnam, and that is that the enemy is the Communists; and therefore, the idea is to kill Communists; Ngo Dinh Diem and Ngo Dinh Nhu are anti-Communists and their troops are fighting the Communists. All this is true, but it is not the way the Vietnamese look at it. Nor do the Vietnamese, even anti-Communist ones, feel that the war is going well.

Rather, and this is coming from sophisticated anti-Communists who are actively engaged in this war, there is now a fear that this can turn into an ugly meat-grinder war, where one side's military superiority is matched against the other side's political superiority. South Vietnam's Vietcong do not call themselves Communist; they are only the critics of the Government's mistakes, albeit mistreatment of Buddhists or a greedy local official.

The sophisticated anti-Communist Vietnamese now fear that the Americans may be setting the stage for a frustrating, elusive type of war where more American prestige is involved than American control.

Just how much the political affects the war is difficult to tell. It is not a country where entire regiments throw down their weapons, as long as they are paid and are not harassed unnecessarily. Nor is it a country where the Vietnamese are likely to turn to Americans and note that they will not take risks because they are Buddhists and do not love the Government. Sometimes Vietnam seems to be more a country of impressions than of facts as Westerners know facts.

ICY REMINDERS

Yet in evaluating the political impact on the military, here are some icy reminders:

1. As a general rule, the longer a person stays in Vietnam the more he becomes convinced that the political aspect is very real and very important, that there is a direct relationship between the way the Ngo family government operates and some very basic problems in this war. This is not simply exposure to an admittedly unhealthy and neurotic political atmosphere in Saigon, but in fact a product of regular visits to the countryside and a tracing back of problems there to political origins.

2. The more a man stays here, the more he is apt to become concerned with what he considers the basic problem of the Government's reaction to its challenges, and come to feel that the flexibility and responsiveness needed for complex and cruel challenge are simply missing, as is perhaps an ability to place the best possible personnel in the most difficult situations.

There is considerable pride at stake here, and, be it removal of the small outposts in the Mekong Delta, which actually serve the Vietcong as weapon supply points—or admission of responsibility for the incident in Hue last May that started the Buddhist crisis, there is, in the view of many observers, a desperate absence of some of the qualities needed to win. There is around the palace today a vast cocoon of intrigue, suspicion, distrust, separating the family from what it needs to be told and the people who are willing to tell it.

TWO ASPECTS

There are in a war like this two aspects of the political situation which are important. First is the popularity of the Government itself. In this situation, the Government is considered extremely isolated and has created a situation where its main and perhaps only remaining claim to power is through police-state methods. This is certainly true of governments throughout the world, particularly in underdeveloped areas, but most such governments are not faced with a situation where, because of the nature of the war, police techniques may be something of a handicap.

There has been relatively little tangible evidence of any effect of the Buddhist crisis. Yet knowledgeable Vietnamese say effect cannot be underestimated, that it has already affected the morale of officers and civil servants.

SERIOUS SITUATION

They are reporting, and so are some American intelligence and political officers, that the feeling in the countryside is extremely serious, that the people are more susceptible than ever to Vietcong propaganda. According to these sources, it is already affecting the civil servants and it is becoming harder to get civil servants to go out in the field. Similarly, Vietnamese are warning that there is a subtle change in feeling among young officers and less willingness to take risks.

These Vietnamese are warning that, if Americans are aware of the Government's shortcomings and police methods, then the Vietnamese themselves are even more aware of these shortcomings. The Vietnamese are warning not to underestimate the rural political consciousness, even though for Westerners there may be few evident signs of it.

VOICE OF AMERICA

There are people in the villages with radios—often given by the United States and agencies—and the peasants listen to the Voice of America and hear reports of the Buddhist and political crises. They also hear about the crises from the Buddhists, themselves, and from the Vietcong, who make propaganda from Saigon's troubles.

A second aspect of the political problems of this country is the way the Government itself reacts: The way it names commanders in vital sections for political reasons; the way it stamps its own tactical doctrines on these commanders, inhibiting enterprise, creating in them a fear of taking risks and of casualties in the field. The way it starts programs in one area only to change its mind midway and shift resources to another area.

HEAVY FIGHTING

It is a blunt fact of this war that most of the fighting is now in the Mekong Delta region, where the Vietcong are becoming increasingly aggressive and well armed. Similarly, it is a blunt fact that the Govern-

ment's commander of the delta is a man generally looked down on by his Vietnamese military contemporaries as a political officer sensitive to the palace winds and militarily cautious. It is also a blunt fact that, in the past, American leverage in a situation of this sort has been minimal, either in changing commanders or changing tactics.

It is also a fact that, while some of the political problems of Saigon do not reach to countryside, a government such as this does not necessarily create 42 provincial chiefs all with an instinct for the needs of the people. There are provincial chiefs who have that instinct, and in these instances the military and political program often goes well. But too often these men are the exception, and too many of the provincial chiefs have their jobs chiefly because they are loyal and only secondly under a merit system.

MRS. NHU'S FATHER SAYS AID CUT COULD INFLUENCE SAIGON'S POLICY

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. President, Tran Van Chuong, the former Vietnamese Ambassador to the United States, has the respect of the citizens of this country for his courage in resigning his position, to protest the autocratic practices of the Diem government. This decision was made much more difficult by the fact that, in resigning, Mr. Chuong was severing family connections, since he is the father of Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu. Mrs. Chuong, Mrs. Nhu's mother, also resigned her position as South Vietnamese observer at the United Nations, at the same time.

Although it must be painful for Mr. Chuong to speak, the citizens of the United States owe him a debt of gratitude for presenting his analysis of events in South Vietnam. Mrs. Nhu will receive extensive opportunity to present the viewpoint of the Diem-Nhu government, during her visit to the United States. It is good that a man as knowledgeable about Vietnamese affairs as Mr. Chuong is willing to speak out in order to give perspective to Mrs. Nhu's comments. On October 8, at the Harvard Club of New York, Mr. Chuong called for a selective cut in American aid to South Vietnam, saying that this pressure might "make even the present Government better." I ask unanimous consent to have a news article reporting on Mr. Chuong's speech, from the October 9 issue of the New York Times, printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the New York Times, Oct. 9, 1963]
MRS. NHU'S FATHER SAYS AID CUT COULD INFLUENCE SAIGON'S POLICY

South Vietnam's former Ambassador to the United States, who is also the father of Mrs. Ngo Dinh Nhu, called yesterday for a "selective" cut in American foreign aid to his country.

Tran Van Chuong said that threats to end all such aid would not be taken seriously in South Vietnam "because of the effect such an action would have on the war effort" against the Communist Vietcong guerrillas.

But a selective cut, he said, might apply enough pressure to "make even the present Government better." He did not detail the cuts that should be made.

The former envoy spoke at a luncheon at the Harvard Club given by the American

Friends of Vietnam. About 50 persons attended.

Tran Van Chuong resigned August 22 because of Saigon's harsh policy toward Buddhists and other dissenters against official policy. His wife resigned as the South Vietnamese observer at the United Nations.

He said neither of them would see their daughter during her stay in the United States. They may, however, visit their 17-year-old granddaughter, Le Thuy.

Tran Van Chuong compared the present Government in Saigon with a physician who says "the patient has a heart attack, a tumor on the brain and very dark spots on the lungs, but his feet and arms work well."

President Ngo Dinh Diem of South Vietnam is a "devoted Roman Catholic with the mind of a medieval inquisitor," he said, and added that there was "no possibility of ever winning the war under the present regime."

SALE OF WHEAT TO RUSSIA

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, according to the morning newspapers, it seems fairly apparent that the Russians have asked us for several millions of tons of American wheat. It also seems obvious that the Kennedy administration is about to accede to this request, regardless of what effect that might have on bailing our cold war enemy out of a jam on its homefront.

I should like to say that I believe it is entirely possible for the United States to benefit from the proposed sale of millions of tons of wheat to the Soviet Union—provided the price is right.

The price I speak of, Mr. President, goes beyond the dollars and cents consideration, even though it is very important to the hard-pressed American taxpayer. No, I am speaking of a price which could weigh on the side of freedom. I am speaking of a price which could go to the heart of the problem of world tensions, about which we have heard so much recent discussion. It goes to the need for positive, demonstrable action by the Soviet Union to prove its good faith in these current and rapidly moving arrangements between East and West.

I believe that Russia should initially be made to pay the full U.S. price for the wheat, so that our taxpayers who have subsidized the wheat at upwards of 50 cents a bushel do not have to pick up a part of the Khrushchev tab.

But far more important, Mr. President, I believe Mr. Khrushchev should be made to remove immediately—not next year, at a political time, but immediately—his Soviet troops and military equipment from the island of Cuba. I suggest this is the least price we should charge for helping out Mr. Khrushchev in his hour of need.

TRIP BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY TO BILLINGS AND GREAT FALLS, MONT.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, several weeks ago, during the trip by the President of the United States to the Northwest, we in Montana were honored to have him stop at both Billings and Great Falls. The people of Montana as a whole, regardless of political affiliation, were highly pleased to see the President of the United States. During the course of his speech at the fair-

grounds in Billings, Mont., the President paraphrased Thoreau, by saying, "I walk toward Montana." We appreciate very much his sentiments, his speeches, and his presence.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD various editorials and articles which were published in Montana newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorials and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Billings Gazette, Sept. 26, 1963]

A WARM WELCOME FOR THE PRESIDENT

It was a gala occasion at the fairgrounds yesterday when Billings welcomed a smiling and personable President Kennedy who 3 years ago called on us in a bid for our votes.

The trip this time was billed as nonpolitical, a not unusual label for presidential tours, but regardless of purpose, it was gratifying to have him with us and hear what he said about developing the natural resources of the West.

Federal policy on resource development is vital to a State like Montana with 37 percent of its land controlled by the Federal Government. Timber, mineral and recreation resources on the public domain provide jobs for thousands of Montanans in the mining, lumbering, oil and tourist industries and account for much of our annual income.

Thus it was encouraging to hear and read President Kennedy's statement that the Nation's natural resources program needs some of the national effort and purpose put into the development of the atomic bomb.

It was pleasing, no doubt, to the President, to receive such a warm welcome upon his arrival in Billings. The occasion brought Democratic dignitaries here from throughout Montana as well as Wyoming, and should be an inspiration for party workers.

[From the Great Falls Tribune, Sept. 26, 1963]

LAND OF SHINING MOUNTAINS BIDS THE PRESIDENT WELCOME

We are happy to join in the enthusiastic welcome that all Montana is extending to the President of the United States. We are appreciative of his inclusion of Great Falls on his speaking schedule. We regret only that the pressure of his responsibilities does not permit him to stay longer. Many have found surcease from stresses among the mountains, streams, and forests of our Treasure State's recreation wonderland.

It is particularly fitting that President Kennedy should have started his conservation tour by stopping in Pennsylvania to dedicate the ancestral home of Gifford Pinchot to the further service of conservation. Pinchot, first Chief of the Forest Service, and adviser to President Theodore Roosevelt, was America's foremost conservationist.

Pinchot once said: "A nation deprived of liberty may win it, a nation divided may reunite, but a nation whose natural resources are destroyed must inevitably pay the penalty of poverty, degradation and decay."

It is also fitting that the President should have included Montana in his conservation tour. Montanans have, since our early pioneers cleared the frontier, always thought and acted to conserve our valued land and water riches. Hence, we can readily appreciate the development of the New Frontier in conservation, reclamation, and recreation which President Kennedy so vigorously espouses.

So the President's plea to preserve our national heritage will find sympathetic hearers. And seeing at firsthand how much our Land of the Shining Mountains has to offer should give him an increased awareness of Montana's important role in his program.

[From the Montana Standard-Post, Sept. 29, 1963]

PRESIDENT'S VISION—MONTANANS ENJOY SHARING IT

When President John F. Kennedy said in Great Falls that he would like to make the Northwest of which Montana is a part "a garden to attract people from all over the United States and the world," he was not thinking of a rose garden.

What he had in mind appears in other parts of his Great Falls speech—something more on the order of a vegetable garden, which combines beauty to delight the eye with productivity to satisfy more material appetites.

The President spoke of harnessing rivers, reclaiming and irrigating land; of a "partnership" in which farmers and Government "will improve this rich land through science."

He related Northwest development with the kind of world which would result from easing of tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, a world of continuing competition "in the fields of productivity, education, economic growth, culture, and happiness."

We have had Presidents who did not seem to know exactly where Montana is, what it contains, what could be done with it and for it. This one—and we have to believe his information stems in large part from members of our congressional delegation who obviously have his ear—came to our State with realization of its size, its resources, and its potentialities.

From that knowledge the President projects a vision which Montanans enjoy sharing with him.

To materialize that vision remains primarily the task of Montanans themselves. In one area of that task, the President offers a "partnership," a proper offer from the Chief Executive of the Nation of which Montana is a part.

But those who have planned and created gardens know well enough that the indispensable ingredient in productivity is good, hard digging.

The gardener may or may not have a rich uncle who wishes him well and admires his work and would like to contribute something, but the hands of the rich uncle seldom fit the handle of the spade, the rake, and the hoe.

In the last analysis, the President leaves with us not the prospect of what he can do for us, but the vision which he shares with us of what we could do for ourselves, perhaps with some help given freely or at a fair price.

[From the Helena Independent Record, Sept. 25, 1963]

WELCOME TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY

Montana is honored by having as its distinguished guest today the President of the United States.

We think that citizens of all political beliefs are putting aside their differences to give President Kennedy a real western greeting.

The visit of a President is not a common occurrence and the Treasure State should go all out to show that we are glad that Mr. Kennedy is here and we hope that he comes again.

The fact that we are off the beaten path is what makes the visit so rare. In these days of air transport the small communities see less and less of the great and near great personalities of the day.

Time was when the President traveled by train and he couldn't get across this vast domain without having to make a number of stops. That was why the ordinary citizen out here in the sticks probably saw more of the Roosevelts, Wilson, Coolidge, Hoover, and the other Presidents of the last generation